UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

Associate Editors

Francis Neilson | Louis L. Mann | Curtis W. Reese

Peace and Justice

By JESSE H. HOLMES

A New Capital for the New Germany

By EDWIN D. MEAD

Mooney and Billings

By ROBERT WHITAKER

Italy and Capital Punishment

By DOROTHY WALTON

VOLUME CII NUMBER 10

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, EDITOR IN CHIEF

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

FRANCIS NEILSON LOUIS L. MANN CURTIS W. REESE

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Editors:

John Haynes Holmes — Francis Neilson
Curtis W. Reese — Louis L. Mann

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME CII MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1928 NUMBER 10

FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

After long study and experience, I have come to the conclusion that (1) all religions are true; (2) all religions have some error in them; (3) all religions are almost as dear to me as my own Hinduism, inasmuch as all human beings should be as dear to one as one's own close relatives. My own veneration for other faiths is the same as that for my own faith; therefore no thought of conversion is possible. The aim of the Fellowship should be to help a Hindu to become a better Hindu, a Mussalman to become a better Mussalman, and a Christian a better Christian. The attitude of patronizing toleration is false to the spirit of International Fellowship. If I have in my mind a suspicion that my religion is more or less true, and that others are more or less false, instead of being more or less true, then, though I may have some sort of fellowship with them, it is of an entirely different kind from the one we need in the International Fellowship. In such a case we might have a Hindu Fellowship, a Mussalman Fellowship, etc., and patronize the other faiths.

Above all we must be quite truthful in our attitude to other faiths.

Our prayer for others must be *not* "God give him the light Thou hast given me," *but* "Give him all the light and truth he needs for his highest development."

—*Mahatma Gandhi*, in address before the Bombay International Fellowship.

This editorial is being written on the night of Election Day (November 6th), as the radio is announcing "a Hoover landslide." This result is precisely what was indicated for months past by straw votes, betting odds, and unbiased reports from all parts of the country. Governor Smith conducted a gallant and tireless campaign, he had more money than any Democrat in political history, he had large and enthusiastic independent support, but he was beaten before he started. As a Thomas advocate, entirely outside the Hoover-Smith contest, we find much to content us in the outcome. First and foremost, we rejoice in the smashing defeat administered to the deliberate and dangerous attempt to destroy Prohibition. The only real strength that Smith had as a candidate came to him from the "wets" located in the great cities and along the Atlantic seaboard. Had the New York Governor been elected, we all know what would have been said. "Wets" everywhere would have hailed the result as a victory for liquor, and throughout the world it would have been proclaimed that America had abandoned Prohibition. Now that Hoover has won by so overwhelming a vote, we feel justified in exulting over a triumph for the 18th Amendment. A highly organized, lavishly financed, bitterly determined movement to reestablish the liquor traffic has been beaten into fragments. Prohibition is here, and here to stay! Again, as a pure outsider in this electoral battle, we are happily contented with the result from the standpoint of international affairs. Mr. Hoover's victory puts in the White House a man who knows the world, and who is abundantly competent to handle world problems in the right spirit. His triumph, of course, makes absolutely certain the ratification by the Senate of the Briand-Kellogg Treaty for the Outlawry of War. Again, we rejoice in a defeat for Governor Smith which involves a repudiation of his surrender to Protection. As a pacifist who believes free trade to be a cornerstone of world peace, we regarded Smith's espousal of the tariff as political treason, and we are glad that it brought him nothing. Lastly, we find sweet serenity in the thought that the Governor's defeat clears the field once again for genuine Progressivism. The Democratic red herring has gone where it belongs—to the garbage pail!

On the other hand, to an outsider like ourselves, there are things to disturb us in this Hoover victory. First and foremost, is the fact of the bigotry, prejudice and petty-mindedness which entered so largely into the result. We are persuaded today, as we have been from the beginning, that the activity of the Protestant churches in the campaign was fundamentally determined by their desire to protect Prohibition from wanton and sinister attack, and to this extent was not only justifiable but noble. He would be blind and foolish, however, who would attempt to deny that, intermingled with this perfectly proper rallying to the defense of the 18th Amendment were elements of religious and social intolerance which were as dangerous as they were effective. Millions of men and women in this country voted against Governor Smith because he was a Catholic—a fact which must remain forever as a blot of shame upon the record of the nation's life. It makes us cringe to think of the bigots who will use this Hoover landslide to proclaim that a Roman Catholic can never be elected President of these United States! In the same way, there are other millions of people who voted against Governor Smith because of social snobbery and prejudice. An uneducated man from the city streets, a woman who had bent over her own washtub and cooked her own meals!

Ugh—how the noses went up into the air, and the pro-Hoover votes down into the ballot-box! Such a spectacle is disgusting, and gives a taint to the Republican victory which must make even the successful candidate himself turn away in shame. On the whole this late campaign was conducted on a lower level and in a meaner atmosphere than any presidential campaign since 1884. Had these things only been involved, we could have wished for a Smith victory, that bigotry and prejudice might have been rebuked as they deserved.

For more detailed analysis of the election, we must wait until next week and succeeding weeks. The Socialist vote, the future of the Democratic Party, the plight of the pro-Smith liberals, these and other vitally important questions will be discussed in these columns as soon as the data is in hand. We regret that editorial exigencies make comment of this kind so belated.

The United States was not the only nation to hold an election in early November—Nicaragua had one too, and elected a President who was a smashing rebuke to America's interference with what is none of its business. It will be remembered that, back in 1924 or thereabouts, there was a Liberal President in Nicaragua, Dr. Juan Bautista Sacasa, whom this country refused to recognize. There had been revolutionary troubles in Nicaragua, as per usual; but Sacasa had succeeded constitutionally to the office held by his predecessor (resigned), and had been duly recognized by several Latin American governments, including that of Mexico. None the less, the United States gave its endorsement to a fine old Conservative, Adolfo Diaz, and managed to push him into power. War between the political factions was the result, with the Liberal Commander in Chief, General Moncada, backed by the overwhelming sentiment of his fellow-countrymen, winning every battle. It was when the Diaz forces were in full flight that the United States intervened with the usual force of marines and blue-jackets, and took personal charge, so to speak, of the helpless little republic. This was an outrageous proceeding, heavily paid for in blood and treasure. And now the election, solemnly held under the shelter of American bayonets, has resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Liberals! The whole business of intervention, that is, has amounted just exactly to nothing at all. General Moncada, the successful candidate, must now be recognized, as Dr. Sacasa should have been recognized in the beginning and a full Liberal government will be in control. The temptation to "rub it in" is almost irresistible. But we refrain, as the pill now being swallowed by the State Department is bitter enough without any additional coating. After keeping a discredited and unpopular government in power in Nicaragua by military force, it is assuredly a first-class humiliation to have to pass the nation over to the people, after all.

The almost complete disappearance of the newspaper election advertisement was one of the conspicuous features of the recent presidential campaign. In all earlier campaigns that we can remember, these political "ads" began to appear a fortnight or so before Election Day. As the fateful hour drew near, they increased in number, size and impressiveness. On the two or three days preceding the casting of the ballots, great full-page display "ads" were the most conspicuous feature of the newspapers. This year, in contrast, practically nothing of the sort appeared, at least within our field of observation. We can recall having seen only one full-page "ad," and only one front-page "ad." The change has been occasioned, of course, by the radio. Today, the last frantic announcements and appeals are sent out over chains of broadcasting stations, reaching millions of listeners where the newspapers reach only a few hundred thousands. This is an amazing development. What it means to the newspapers is quite beyond calculation. The immediate loss in advertising income is obvious enough—and also serious enough, for it must amount to huge totals of net revenue. But beyond this is the whole question of the possible abandonment of the daily newspaper as an advertising sheet, and even as a news medium. If politicians find it profitable to advertise by radio, why not manufacturers and dealers? As for the news, we all sat up with our radios on the night of the 6th, to get the election returns; and the next morning we read at the breakfast table only what we had already learned in fascinating and elaborate detail. Is it wholly fantastic to foresee the coming of the time when we shall regularly get our news over the radio as we go to bed or eat our morning meal? This is a critical moment for newspapers. More than one sign of the times seems to indicate that their ultimate destiny is to become purveyors of entertainment (cartoons, comic strips, stories, pictures) and of comment (editorials, "colyums," book and play reviews and special articles).

The mutterings of the English electoral storm are getting louder. The Conservatives are plainly on the defensive—the bungling of the Kellogg Treaty and the French Entente, to say nothing of the growing menace of unemployment, have weakened them terribly—but their parliamentary majority is large and can suffer heavy loses without final disaster. The Liberals, thanks to Lloyd-George's insatiable ambition and his abundant war-chest, are active, but their chance of adding much to their present insignificant representation is small. The Laborites are the real threat to Baldwin and his government—the tides of English life are sweeping their way! But they are lamentably poor, and the

obduracy, or shall we say stupidity, of the rural and small town constituencies raises a barrier beyond which there is small chance of moving for years to come. The present prospect is for heavy Conservative losses, small Liberal gains, and large Labor gains, with the House of Commons deadlocked as it was before the advent of the present ministry. Then what will happen? The Tories must obviously resign, for Liberals and Laborites would unite on the first vote to defeat them. But will these two opposition parties unite for anything else? Will they form a coalition, to take over the government and run it? Or must Labor take office, at the sufferance of the Liberals, which means being thrown out the moment Lloyd-George turns down his thumbs? Questions of this kind, which hold the paramount interest of the present situation, cannot be answered at this distance. Perhaps they will be dismissed altogether by the Conservatives winning a greatly reduced majority, and carrying on. But the probability is confusion, with Lloyd-George busy as usual looking for the main chance. That he will make the most of it, cannot be doubted. He cannot fool himself into believing that he will ever be prime minister again, but he may well be the Warwick behind the throne. What would it not mean to England, if only her political life could be purged of this unscrupulous self-seeker!

Further consideration of the Sacco-Vanzetti documents recently published by the *Outlook* brings conviction of their authenticity, and proves to any reasonable intelligence that, to quote the *New Republic,* "Vanzetti was innocent of at least one of the two crimes for which he was tried and found guilty." Our readers will remember that when Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested, they were charged not only with the successful hold-up (involving two deaths) at South Braintree, but also with an earlier and unsuccessful hold-up at Bridgewater. Sacco had an unshakable alibi for the latter affair, and was tried only for the South Braintree murders. Vanzetti, an itinerant fish-peddler, also had his alibis, but they consisted only of the testimony of his Italian customers, and were contemptuously brushed aside by the authorities. Although it is invariably the custom of the state, when two indictments are hanging over a man, to try him for the more serious offense, especially if it be murder, Massachusetts decided in this case to try Vanzetti for the lesser crime first. This trial resulted in conviction, and a sentence of from twelve to fifteen years in state's prison. This brought Vanzetti into court for his murder case as a man already under the shadow of the law. It is this fact, more than anything else, we believe, which injured and ultimately destroyed Vanzetti and his comrade. We remember how long we were prejudiced against them because, as we thought, Vanzetti had a criminal record. Now, thanks to the *Outlook,* we have the documents which prove that Vanzetti was innocent of the Bridgewater hold-up. Here is the sworn testimony of one of the participants in this crime, telling in detail the whole story of the affair. Here is an affidavit from the man who planned the crime long before it was pulled off. And here are the records of the *Outlook* representatives, one of whom lived in the under-world for four months checking up on the confessions, and finding them accurate and trustworthy in every smallest detail. Of course, this new evidence has not convinced the Massachusetts men concerned in the last judgment —these men's minds are closed forever. But to others, and to posterity, the case is clear.

Peace and Justice

Not long ago I read an editorial in a widely-circulated daily paper, with the above title, which is typical of many. It opens with the proposition that peace advocates should, "be frank enough to say whether they are in favor of abolishing the police," since "in both cases force is used." This is as if one should say, "those who disapprove of drowning witches should be frank enough to say whether they would favor the abolition of swimming, since in both cases water is used." The rest of the article has the familiar questions, "Would not the pacifist protect his home and family?" "Does he care nothing for international justice?"

Since such questions are so frequently asked they must be supposed to have some relation to the pacifist point of view, and in the interest of clear thinking, should be fairly answered. The essential fallacy in all of them is that of confounding opposition to war with complete non-resistance; yet these two are by no means the same. To condemn any proposition because there is a possible extreme leads to all sorts of absurd positions. Gluttony is bad, so let us starve ourselves; the pursuit of pleasure leads to vice,—let us torture ourselves; the love of money is the "root of all evil," therefore we should abolish money; in competitive games we can only win by the loss of others,—let us have no games; one end of a poker is hot,—let us never touch a poker. *And* since a killing contest is to be condemned as a method of settling international problems, any use of force at any time must also be condemned. It is of course possible, in theory at least, to take the position of absolute non-resistance. I doubt if it could ever be wholly put in practice. Its most extreme advocates would probably snatch back a friend about to fall over a cliff, and would struggle with a desperate man trying to commit murder or suicide, or beating a helpless

child. The vast majority of pacifists know that force must be used, but would make it subject to intelligence and justice.

A nation should be regarded as an administrative unit in which a convenient group of people unite to maintain order and justice among themselves. The police are the organs by which these ends are reached. They derive their just powers from the consent of the policed. Only incidentally and rarely is their service to society one of violence, and then only for the moment of emergency. As soon as the criminal is disarmed it is as much the duty of the police to protect him as to protect the most orderly citizen; society provides the rules and the machinery for orderly treatment and desires to release the criminal as soon as it is socially safe to do so.

Contrast now the procedure of war with this management of social justice. Nations seldom wage war in the interests of the general good, but almost always for narrow national ends,—for the glory of a monarch, for the benefit of a ruling class, in the interests of investments. The police enforce the carefully considered and legally enacted will of society on its own members; war is an attempt to enforce the will of one people on the conduct of another and corresponds not to police action but to riot, or a fight between individuals. One party may be more nearly right than the other, but the procedure is anarchy and the results have nothing to do with the right and wrong of the situation. Justice and right have advanced slowly through the ages, but rather in spite of than because of the bitter wars fought in their names. Even wars fought for good causes were "necessary" only because of the arbitrary impatience of the champions of the "causes," and really postpone or injure the ends they are intended to serve. We are too ready to assume that violence is the only method available when one nation deals with another,—that evil is to be overcome by evil, that the devil is to be fought with fire. Is it really judicious to allow the devil the choice of weapons in view of the fact that he is probably vastly more expert in the use of that weapon than the righteous? When we are being religious we claim that evil is to be overcome by good,—that love is more powerful than hate; is this just "goody goody" talk for Sundays? France having introduced "liberty, equality, fraternity" by revolution, offers to extend them by force of arms to other peoples. There follows a generation of war and the imperialism of Napoleon, a disease from which France has not yet recovered. Suppose France had devoted herself to the real development of liberty, equality and fraternity within her own borders: what might she not have accomplished with the men, treasure, and enthusiasm which were worse than wasted in military adventure! Suppose the billions of dollars and million lives spent on our civil war had been devoted to buying the freedom of the negro slaves and setting them on the way of genuine freedom,—would the negro problem be what it is today?

Let any honest thinking person who assumes that he is a follower of Jesus and believes in his scheme of life, fairly consider the outcome of the wars of the world and make comparison with the probable result if either party had really tried to meet the enemy half way. Doubtless there would have been suffering and death, injustice and oppression, but has mankind escaped these evils by the way of war? But shall not we resist invasion, shall we yield to wrong, shall we not fight for our rights? Well,—shall we not use common sense in trying to get what we want? If a weak nation is invaded or oppressed by a strong one it will probably be much better off if it yields under protest and continues the protest. Would we not have yielded independence to the Philippines much more readily if they had not resisted by force of arms but only by steady and permanent protest and appeal to our own principles of government? Did Belgium save herself by resistance? Of course the other nations were glad to have the little nation take the suffering and destruction for them, but how about her own interests? The World War was inevitable because the strong nations were prepared for it, had planned for it and intended it; but no one of them would have dared to invade another which refused to resist and demanded conference. When the strife had actually begun the statesmen of the great nations would have gladly escaped from it if they had not accepted the method of violence and feared that their enemies would take advantage of any hesitation. Of course there is some risk in trusting to the power of friendliness and good-will, but does experience show that "preparedness" and the military mind is free from risk?

There is nothing in the education and experience of those who make or prevent wars which makes them fit to decide with wisdom and justice the affairs of other nations with different languages, customs, and institutions. And when they presume to sacrifice the lives and futures of millions of their fellow men they are taking on the function of gods. Kings and nobles have never seemed to consider the lives and the welfare of their people in dealing with foreign affairs. And as for presidents and congressmen, is it really common sense to allow an obscure editor, an able but rather contentious college professor, a mining engineer, or a jovial and popular politician, together with a lot of mediocre lawyers and the rest of the miscellany we get together in Congress, to send millions of our boys abroad to fight the economic battles of Europe and to involve us in debts that will burden us for generations? The result is twenty-five or thirty millions killed, mostly the world's chosen best, and over three hundred billions of the slowly accumulated wealth of mankind destroyed

with no return! I do not doubt the good intentions of those who plunged the world into ruin, but I do question their intelligence. There are no supermen capable of rationally directing such forces and such methods.

To appeal in emergency to the police is quite a different matter. The police represent a minimal use of force planned and arranged within an organized group. A police force does not wreck civilization, kill millions of the world's best young citizens, and saddle those who are left and their descendants with enormous debts. Its primary purpose is to protect and direct, and the result of its activities is increased safety and happiness. We know our institutions by their fruits; wherefore we do not desire to abolish the police, though we do believe that armies and navies should be replaced by congresses and courts.

Our immediate reasonable service should be:

(1.) To have the Kellogg treaties immediately ratified by the Senate, without reservations.

(2.) To lead in disarmament on land and sea.

(3.) To associate ourselves with the World Court and the League of Nations.

(4.) To entirely eliminate war from our international thinking.

JESSE H. HOLMES.

Jottings

The idea that our presidential campaigns should be shortened by holding the nominating conventions in September instead of in June, is excellent so far as it goes. But why not do away with the campaign altogether? Why not have the conventions in late October? The result would be the same, and the saving in money and nerve-strain enormous.

The election brought one result which is satisfactory to everybody. Work and Raskob are through. May we never hear from either one of them again!

Modern society is certainly getting on when a preacher like Harry Emerson Fosdick finds it necessary to preach against polygamy.

It does the heart good to see *Foreign Affairs* (London) appearing under the editorship of Norman Angell, and with the honored name of E. D. Morel restored to the mast-head.

The Boston *Herald* speaks of Sinclair Lewis as "one of our most promising novelists." If "Babbitt" and "Arrowsmith" constitute promise, we wonder what constitutes achievement.

As "charity covers a multitude of sins," so the favorite newspaper word, "alleged," covers a multitude of libels.

J. H. H.

American Notes—Dr. Straton and Rabbi Wise

Editorial Correspondence

Being like the common man "incurably religious" I sought recently the pulpits of two of New York's most celebrated preachers—John Roach Straton (pronounced "straighten") and Stephen S. Wise. Curiously, they are both preaching on West 57th Street, between Fifth Avenue and Broadway, and a few doors apart. Dr. Straton preaches in his own church, the Calvary Baptist, while Rabbi Wise holds services in Carnegie Hall.

Calvary Baptist Church tells on the little folder handed you as you enter that it is founded on the Bible, it is out to save New York, and its method is the Cross. Its motto is: "The Bible, the Whole Bible, and Nothing but the Bible." If you get there a bit early, as I did, you come into a room with classes studying the Bible. The teacher is standing before his class with the Open Bible (literally "open") in his hands. The particular teacher I heard was modern enough to use Moffat's translation and this class was studying the 13th chapter of First Corinthians—and no group of citizens could have been in better business, on this fine Sunday morning.

Dr. Straton is a Southern man. Many of the best preachers in the land, from Seattle to New York, are from the South. The art of oratory has not been lost down there—and besides, the white boys down South had the advantage of being brought up among the Negroes—who are of course natural orators. (If I was managing a school for the training of preachers, I would take them each year for a whole month to live among the Negroes of the South, and another month out in Harlem—to learn how to preach.) Dr. Straton had just returned from a tour throughout the South, from Texas to the Carolinas, where he had been seeking by speech to thousands "to save the country" from Tammany and Booze. His voice was husky from much speaking—but he was certain that it would "clear up"—I wondered what would happen if it did not clear up, since he is an advocate of healing. But, it did clear up—and he has a good voice—one cannot help liking this patriarchal man, as he stands before a congregation, or later as he stands at the foot of the platform as people crowd up to see him, and gives them all

a kind of benediction in the name of a righteous Jehovah.

It was interesting to see how the Sunday School blended into the morning service. There was no break. Calvary Baptist has chimes attached to the organ as do most churches these days, and as the chimes were ringing out "Little Children, Who Love Their Redeemer—Are His Jewels, Precious Jewels," etc., the children of the Sunday School came trooping upon the platform of the auditorium. There Dr. Straton greeted each one with a hand-clasp and a smile, and while they were gathered around him he handed them a picture card, and then gave them a short sermon on "The greatest of these is Love," whereupon the children retired, singing with the congregation, "All Hail the Power of Jesus Name." This reveals the reason why pastors are remembered for at least a generation—especially if they pay attention to the children.

It is easy to see that Dr. Straton is no fool. He aims for a popular service and gets a hearing. I dare say that he gets a wide hearing on the radio, for he was not forgetful of his invisible congregation, and it is quite possible that he gets more "listening per capita" than some others. He is not afraid to urge the value of giving, as he said before the offering, "As we give may we see Christ's pierced hand." Whatever he does, he literally seeks to do "for the Glory of Christ."

He preached on, "Blessed is the Nation whose God is the Lord." It was a familiar talk, in an elevated tone of voice of a friendly, yet patriarchal man. He announced that the "tides of righteousness are rising down in Dixie. Religion has to do with nations; striking a parallel between ancient Israel and America. America will surely perish, if not obedient to the voice of God. There is an inescapable connection between what individuals do and the fate of a nation. America must have character, to endure. This must be found in the home, which is the unit of American life, the throne of our highest ideals. The home is attacked where there is a legalized liquor traffic. The homes must be saved, or the nation will perish." The preacher proceeded, "The sermon is over, but now I want to read a few letters of appeal from the suffering in Florida. We have given to the Red Cross, but here is more need for us to relieve." And, a second collection was taken with the words, "Have a share . . . . and so fulfill the law of Christ." As you go out of Calvary Baptist church, you cannot help liking Dr. Straton, even though—no, because of it—he made you give twice into the collection (when non-church people give three times at a meeting, their criticisms of Dr. Straton will reach further) and as you look back while passing out, and see him the center of a group of eager admirers, to whom he stands as a kind of God, in the flesh—kindly in aspect, breathing healing in his smiles and hand-clasps—and you pass down 57th Street and Fifth Avenue, and note St. Thomas Church, St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, you are glad (while not wanting all others to be like him) that Dr. Straton is there, independent, fearless, speaking the truth as he sees it; for there is nothing more needed in the religious life of America than a free pulpit.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise deserves much more space than I can take. His is called the "Free Synagogue." The congregation worships in Carnegie Hall. He has one of the richest speaking voices in America. It was devotional just to listen to his voice. One could easily imagine that it was the Voice, so frequently mentioned in the Jewish Scriptures. If anyone is studying how to improve the acoustics of his church, I would suggest that he go to Carnegie Hall, when Rabbi Wise is there. He will first realize the value of the voice. He will also realize the value of having the voice aided by surroundings like those in the Hall. For example, note the bare floor of the platform, also the drapery back of the speaker, also the lighting (excellent) since lighting is half the battle in reaching one's hearers. I was interested in noting that the fine choir (possibly quartette) was hidden entirely from the congregation, at least from my position. Excellent thing—to be heard and not seen.

Everything about the service was simple. Dr. Wise did not seek to augment his dignity by the use of a gown. He was dressed democratically. But everybody, preacher, choir, congregation seemed to be conscious that they were in the presence of Divinity and bent on business of communing with Divinity. And, I spoke of his voice—it seemed to bear us up and away smoothly into the Presence. The service for half an hour was like an Oratorio. Music from Beethoven, from Mendelssohn, "I waited for the Lord," from Mozart, from Saint-Saens, in the "Deluge"—mingled with readings from Wells, Tennyson, Browning, and especially from the Jewish Prophets, and the prayers (several) by the pastor, rich and tender; and responsive readings with the big congregation bent on taking part. I was impressed by the fact that the whole 2,000 people were doing their best, young and old, to be conscious of God. Of course, you know how quickening and inspirational such an atmosphere is! One finds a rush of emotion, of ideas, of plans, of resolutions that are perfectly overwhelming. The service is really evangelistic. One can almost see the walls of Jericho falling down before the trumpet of Jehovah.

Then came the sermon—for 45 minutes—on "What is left of Religion?" To raise a question like this was at once a relief, and yet a disappointment. If after the worship, the Rabbi had stepped forward, raised his arm, said, "Now who is on the Lord's side?" there would have been a flocking around the standard. He would be a powerful evangelist.

What he did was well done—excellently well done. It was intended for thoughtful men and women who having reasoned together, prefer to choose in quiet the course they will pursue. His description of what religion is not was fine. Not belief in "Genesis." Religion is not something handed down, complete. It is seeking after God. God is here and eternal. Greater light may yet come. Prayer is the reign of law. Religion implies change. Darwin points to Moses. Let us do away with the word "survive"—for religion means growth, development, provided one is conscious of his relation to the universe. Religion has only begun. Only know that the Jews made a beginning. It is for us to go on, to carry forward.

If the 2,000 people were not fed and inspired, it was certainly not Rabbi Wise's fault. He was like a splendid organ, with a wide range of tones—and the music came from him, deep and devotional.

People who come to New York and fail to go once or twice to church on Sunday are passing by the room that holds the richest gems of the gallery.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Italy and Capital Punishment

[From our Special Correspondent]

Six months ago a well known Roman artist referred bitterly to the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti to me and boasted proudly of the fact that Italy had done away with capital punishment these forty years. Today, as I write, an anti-Fascist lies dead, shot summarily seventeen hours after being sentenced to death by the Fascist Special Revolutionary Tribunal for the murder of two Fascists. Italy has returned to capital punishment.

The entire country has been taken aback at the suddenness of this action. Already the newspapers are shouting a justification of capital punishment saying that "unless an example is made of this slayer no Fascist's life would be safe from slaughter at the hands of anti-Fascist elements."

But there is another feeling among Italians not voiced in the controlled press. They deplore what they consider a retrogression in a humanitarian policy of which they were proud to be the acknowledged leaders of the world.

As early as 1776 capital punishment was abolished in Tuscany where curiously enough this present crime was punished by the death penalty. Execution even for regicide was abolished in the Italian penal code of 1888. The assassin of King Humbert received only a life sentence and King Victor Emmanuel several years ago pardoned the man who attempted his life in 1911 and he is now living in Rome.

But for several years there has been an agitation among Fascist circles for a reintroduction of capital punishment as a further safeguard to the preservation of the Fascist state. In November, 1926, the Fascist Special Revolutionary Tribunal was created. This tribunal depends on the war ministry instead of the ministry of justice. It is composed of officers of the Fascist militia operating under its own rules. Punishments are therefore wholly outside the regular civil criminal codes. Thus it has the ability to inflict death if so inclined. It first sat on February 1, 1927. From that date until June of this year it dealt with some 65 cases in which were implicated 436 persons. Of these 81 were acquitted and 355 were condemned altogether to 2,086 years of penal servitude. Almost all of the 355 were also sentenced to three years of police surveillance after serving the term of imprisonment. The sentences run from one to twenty-six years, the average being about five. The charges all come under the general heading of "conspiracy against the state and incitement to civil war." The accused are generally described as Communists although many of them declare they are either socialists, syndicalists or of other political creeds. Witnesses for the prosecution are almost invariably police agents, carabinieri or spies.

There have been some extraordinary cases. For instance in October, 1927, some peasants were sentenced for from one to five years penal servitude for having worn red carnations at the funeral of a friend. One day last spring a man coming from Paris was searched at the frontier station. A letter was found on him from his brother who advised him not to return from Italy because of the unemployment and other bad conditions of the country. The man and his brother were both arrested, the former sentenced to one year's imprisonment for having "spread abroad information damaging to the prestige of the country" and the recipient of the letter to two months. Why the brother was incarcerated is not quite clear, perhaps because of his family connection.

All of this smacks of the days of A. Mitchell Palmer in America, and indeed that gentleman would find himself at home in Italy today.

The present case which occupied the front pages of the Italian press for several days concerned a young man named Michele della Maggiore. Last May della Maggiore, who is said to be a Communist, returned from France,. went to his native village near Lucca, one of the richest communities of Italy and numbering many wealthy returned American immigrants and there shot two Tuscan Fascists apparently in cold blood. According to the official report, della Maggiore admitted that he shot them because they were Fascists. It did not explain why he should have come all the way back to Lucca from France in order to find a couple of Fascists to shoot down. It is rumored, however, that the younger brother of Maggiore had been killed during revolutionary troubles and this act was one of vengeance. Maggiore and an accomplice, who confessed to supplying the weapon, were tried before the Special Tribunal which for the first time left Rome to sit in the province to "reassure" a community disturbed by Communist activities.

Della Maggiore was given the death sentence, his accomplice eighteen years. The regulation of the Special Tribunal calls for execution of the sentence within twenty-four hours of its pronouncement. There is no right of appeal to other courts and the only other recourse of the condemned is to ask for royal clemency, an appeal which the public prosecutor may or may not pass on to the king as he sees fit. In this case the prosecutor referred it to the military commander at Rome whose duty it was to relay it to the king if he saw fit. It was thought in many quarters that the king would interfere if appealed to. But the immediate execution of the prisoner was ordered and at four A. M. seventeen hours after the sentence had been pronounced the prisoner was awakened, taken behind the cemetery, bound to a chair and shot to death by a squad of twelve Fascist musketeers in the presence of six hundred Fascist militiamen. He had refused the ministrations of the priest and had remained cynical and scornful to the end.

Whether della Maggiore had committed murder for the sake of vengeance or whether for political reasons, the fact remains that he himself was an anti-Fascist and could expect no leniency in a Fascist state. His death is the first to occur under the rulings of the new military tribunal as a result of an "assault upon the state." It is the first "legal" execution in Italy in forty years.

In the history of criminology Italians have written one of the most enlightening chapters. Enrico Ferri, a follower of Lombroso, has spread throughout the world his ideas that the criminal should not be punished but cured and if not cured should be prevented from doing harm. These ideas had gained ground in Italy before the days of Fascism. But in a regime where the state is

held not only to be supreme but also perfect and with unlimited rights such a program extracts only scorn from a Fascist who looks with equal contempt upon such "sentimental" projects as disarmament and pacifism.

A new penal code, more acceptable to the "stern virility" of the blackshirts has thus been drawn up. It has not yet been legalized but there is no doubt that at the next session of parliament it will be adopted. The new code reintroduces the death penalty for crime against the state. It makes more severe the punishments for offenses against the family and the church. (Again the Fascists show their astuteness in presenting the Catholics with another sop.) But the humane ideas of Ferri are no longer to be potent in his own country.

DOROTHY WALTON.

A New Capital for the New Germany

There took place some weeks ago in Vienna a tremendous and most significant demonstration in behalf of the union of Austria with Germany. The Associated Press despatch from Vienna stated that the union was acclaimed there on that day by 300,000 persons of Teutonic blood, who packed themselves into and around the enormous singing hall of the Schubert festival. "They took a united and solemn vow to make this an accomplished fact politically, as it already exists through bonds of language and culture and customs." Tremendous cheers, we read, greeted the speakers, particularly Paul Loebe, President of the German Reichstag, who declared that he represented the sentiment of all the German people and said that a reunion of the two Germanic nations had already been achieved by established customs and the economic alliance between them.

This historic movement can not be arrested. Germans and Austrians met here have proclaimed to the world that they are determined to live together under the protection of their common fatherland.

The demonstration, the despatch went on, was anticipated several days before the festival opened by the French minister, who called upon the Austrian foreign minister and said he had been instructed to stay away from Vienna while the music celebration was in progress because it was being turned into a demonstration in favor of a union of Austria and Germany, a project to which his government was firmly opposed.

Why should the French government oppose a project so dear to the heart of the whole German race, and so necessary for the prosperity and welfare of Austria? Austria was cut down by the Versailles treaty to a powerless and inconsiderable province; and Vienna, fifteen years ago the proud capital of the great Austro-Hungarian empire, has now a hinterland quite unequal to her proper maintenance. Her recovery from the abject prostration and poverty in which the war left her has indeed been amazing, a remarkable witness to the fortitude and enterprise of her people as well as to the potent cooperation and practical wisdom of the League of Nations. But the present situation is unnatural, unpropitious, discouraging and impossible; and the clear dictate of common sense is the union of the country with Germany, in behalf of which Vienna has made such a mighty demonstration.

In Germany itself before the war there was no strong desire to incorporate German Austria in the empire. The reason was simple. Austria was overwhelmingly Roman Catholic; and the liberal elements in Germany had quite as strong a Catholic contingent on their hands to deal with as they could easily manage or as was auspicious for the political future. For, however it be in the United States, Roman Catholicism in central Europe is as distinctly political as religious, and the Catholic party of the Rhine provinces was uniformly hostile to what the democratic and progressive parties of Germany accounted progress. The changes wrought by the war have been revolutionary. The republic in Germany is firm. The democratic sentiment and control is ever steadier and stronger; and Germany today would welcome her Austrian brothers to the republic as warmly as Austria itself desires the union.

Against such a sentiment and manifest benefit, what right has France to interpose? The poorest way of trying to make ourselves strong is by trying to make our neighbors weak. The motive is simply military. The French military and political powers desire to keep Germany as weak as possible, that any possible future menace may be kept at the minimum. But military problems are not the determining factor in modern life, and are becoming ever less and less determining. Security is based on friendship, as Locarno has so well attested. The Germany safest for France is a friendly and not a thwarted and resentful Germany; and the universal policy for the future is that of cooperation and trust. The nations of Europe must and will shape themselves along racial lines. Not only is the union of Austria with Germany manifest destiny; but every student of history knows that the present anomalous and abominable condition in South Tyrol must come to an end, that in any acute crisis it would prove an element of weakness instead of strength to Italy itself, and that this staunch German population will at no distant day return to it natural and proper relations.

If France and England and Europe know the things that belong to their peace, they should see that the last thing they want to do is to defy or depreciate a strong Germany. Nothing is so important for the stability and security of European civilization as a strong Germany at the center of Europe. I am a strong believer in the Russian people and the Russian genius. That genius has amazingly revealed its originality and power in literature and music, and will yet, when it is schooled and has a chance, express and assert itself in education, politics and religion. But that is in the future. The Russian people today are mostly dumb, driven cattle, an untrained, illiterate horde of peasant farmers scattered over their illimitable and isolated stretches. Not one in ten knows much of what is going on in Moscow. In coming days they will have their books, their schools, communication, an intelligent public opinion, and their Jeffersons. Today they are in the hands of the little company of three percent of their number imposing its rule upon them, with doctrines which I do not here discuss and which they know little of. Whatever the virtues or the potency of the doctrines, it is a regime which must slowly modify itself in this democratic age. Stalin is a phe-

nomenon in political pathology as truly as Mussolini, both incidents in the aftermath of all great wars and revolutions, and they will pass after serving probably some necessary ends. The Communists themselves speak of the "dictatorship" as an *ad interim* experience! But the Russian revolution is in its infancy, and no man can foresee the virtues and vices of its course. No student of history, however hopeful, can ignore its possibilities and portents; and that great borderland between Asia and Europe has witnessed too many barbarous eruptions by ignorant millions for any easy and confident repose. We hope their day has passed. We hoped the possibility of a general war of Christendom had passed. We were mistaken. Should ever, which heaven forfend, the ignorant Muscovite millions run amuck against the society and polities of the western world, only a strong and united Germany, with its steadiness, fortitude, enlightenment, religion and sane freedom, could save European civilization.

The four great capitals of Europe have long been London, Paris, Berlin and Vienna. With the proposed union, two of the four great cities would be in Germany. Vienna and Berlin are in many ways rivals, as Austria and Prussia were rivals in the old federation. Such legitimate rivalries as exist should now have a fair field, with no factitious political advantage for either city.

There are other reasons why the new Germany should have a new capital. The new China recognizes the same imperative. Peking does not represent China, her history and traditions, even if it were not at the extreme northern border of the enormous area with its diverse elements and its poor communication. The capital should be nearer the center alike of the country and the country's affections. Hence the announced determination of the new regime to restore the capital to historic old Nanking.

If Germany is to be united, its capital should be a symbol and instrument of unity. Berlin does not really represent Germany, although Germany is justly proud of Berlin. It is not a factor in the revered German history and tradition. The German veneration, tenderness and love that cluster about Saxony, Thuringia and the Harz do not cluster about it. Its history is coincident with the rise and growth of the Hohenzollern, militarism and absolutism, from the power of Frederick to the debacle of 1914. The great German literature and music and legend have not there had their seat; and with the inclusion of Austria in the republic the political center of gravity will more surely move to the heart of old Germany. Berlin will still be the German metropolis, as New York is the American metropolis. It will remain the capital of Prussia, as Vienna is the capital of Austria and Munich the capital of Bavaria; but it will not, I think, remain the capital of Germany. Hegemonies of every sort, and the expression and reverberation of them, will yield to the united spirit, the common enthusiasm and the common good.

Where will the capital be? I think it will be at Weimar. It was not merely prudential considerations, but the beckoning of poetry, prophecy and the gods which made Weimar the place for the constitutional convention after the war, which framed the government for the new German republic. That constitution was not born of the "fool red fury" of revolution; the military empire gave way to the peaceful republic at the behest of German sobriety, solidity, devoutness and self control. The cradle of the constitution may well become eventually the capital of the republic. It will only be in the fullness of time. It will never be violently or by any revolution; that is not Germany's way. It will come, if it come, by general persuasion, by some fine German sentiment and enthusiasm, and by common consent.

Weimar is more than the German Athens, with its great traditions of Goethe and Schiller and Herder. It is in the very center of the great and heroic German history and life. The sacred Luther places, Eisleben and Erfurt and Eisenach are all about it. The Harz mountains are on one side, and the Thuringian forest on the other. The two historic German universities, Jena and Leipzig, are close beside it. Jena, the brilliant university of the German golden age, is today its very suburb; and Leipzig with not only its great academic and literary traditions, but with its famous conservatory and opera as well, and with the German Supreme Court, two hours away. The Kyfhaeuser, symbol and promise of Germany's resurrection, is just beyond the northern horizon; and just beyond the Saxon border to the west, beside the Teutoburger Wald, the mighty bronze figure of Hermann lifts his sword high toward the sky, pledging unconquerable Teutondom to eternal freedom. There at Weimar, in the midst of these eloquent memories, messages and visions, shall the new capital of the new Germany be. It is a dream today. Tomorrow I think that it, or something like it, will be an urgent dream. But it will have its fulfilment only when the dream becomes vision, becomes conviction, practical politics, and common sense. The dream, like all which concerns the future of Germany, will be shared by multitudes outside her borders, and nowhere more than among the thousands of American scholars, and Scotch and English scholars, who in the days before the World War and its tragedies thronged her university halls, and owe so much to German scholarship and German thought.

The active home for the new capital would not be in the old town. That shall be sacred and inviolate, like old Hildesheim, although the dear resort of all. The new city should rise on the slopes toward the Ettersburg heights at the north, designed by nature herself for this high purpose. In this noble new city of the future, with its streets interspersed by the squares and parks for which the beautiful forest stretches provide such abundant material, shall rise the capitol and bureaus, the executive mansions and homes of the world's ambassadors, the libraries and museums. The hotel and shopping and amusement world should lie between the new town and the old. The whole prophetic creation shall reflect the noblest and purest traditions of German architecture, mingled as has so often been in Germany with the great and eternally noble classic forms; and all shall proclaim that the new Germany makes dominant and pervasive for the great future that which has been great and truest and propulsive in her long, struggling past.

In the most commanding place, as central as the monument to the great Frederick at the end of Unter den Linden, shall be reared a memorial as eloquent and prophetic as that to the heroic Hermann by the Teutonic Forest. The central figure shall be Immanuel Kant, robed in his teaching chair. About him shall be Lessing and Goethe and Schiller and Herder; and the in-

scription on the front shall be "Zum Evigigen Frieden." The American republic, like Germany herself and England essentially a Teutonic nation, might fittingly claim conspicuous place among the nations joining in the dedication of such a monument by the new German republic as a pledge that the day of absolutism, imperialism and war is done, and that the republican Old World and the republican New World together recognize what their best minds alike saw long ago, that above all nations is humanity. Those great Weimar men were international men, to whom nothing human was foreign; and America does not forget that Immanuel Kant himself there at Konigsberg watched with anxious sympathy the American revolution and the founding of the American republic. He believed and taught the world that peace and freedom go together; and he hailed in the rise of our young republic, pledged to peace, a new and hopeful center to which other such nations should chemically adhere, until a preponderant republican world should establish eternal peace. He knew, as we know, that Washington and Franklin and Jefferson were the preeminent peace statesmen of their age; and he would have believed that when the hour struck for the organization of the family of nations, our federal republic would be the leader. Although through partisan betrayal and follies our republic was kept from the deserved and fitting honor, a cooperation surely only delayed for an hour, all Americans with the international mind rejoice that the German republic, a decade after the devastating war, has taken her loyal place in the family, for the reconstruction of the world, in accord with the command and prophecy of her great thinker, into a united world of peace and freedom.

EDWIN D. MEAD.

Mooney and Billings

Nature did her best to soften the somber aspects of San Quentin prison that Thursday morning, September 27, 1928, when I spent a never-to-be-forgotten hour with Tom Mooney. Even more beautiful was the forenoon twelve days later, October 9, 1928, when I walked down the stone sidewalk at Represa, near Folsom, California, climbed the stone steps of the Warden's office, and spent a half hour or more talking with Warren K. Billings. In neither instance did I consider the visit an "interview," nor did I quiz either man for publication. The fact is that, although I have been actively identified with the fight for the freedom of these two victims of the class war from the first meeting of protest which was held on their behalf, I had seen Mooney only once before, and Billings I had never seen at all. Years ago I had a visit at San Quentin, but I went there to see several prisoners, among them Mooney, and when I was informed that I could see only one, and might not return until thirty days had passed, I contented himself with nodding to Mooney, and gave myself to another class-war prisoner who had more immediate need of consideration just then.

There was no difficulty in the way of seeing Mooney this time, nor were the visitors numerous on this September morning, so that we had the visitors' room almost to ourselves. Our friends called for another prisoner, "Schmitty," as he is familiarly named, and we had ourselves some conversation with him, as he sat not far away. But my wife and I gave our attention chiefly to Tom Mooney, and an hour or more we talked with him without interruption or restraint. At Represa I was alone, as women visitors are not allowed, except in the instance of relatives. The Warden's office is large, and Billings and I talked with freedom, no effort being made to follow or limit our conversation.

Both men had just come in from working on vegetables, Mooney, who took a good deal of time to clean himself up, from service in the prison kitchen, Billings, who appeared in working clothes, from work in the garden. Mooney was clean shaven, and dressed in a white duck suit. To me he looked thin, as compared with the pictures of him which are commonly presented to the public, but his color was good, and his eyes bright, and he affirmed that his health was greatly improved. A year ago Mooney was in wretched health, but a diet of "vegetable juices" brought him back to health, and his present work allows him to take sufficient care of himself so as to keep in reasonable condition. Billings also suffered from his long incarceration, but his out-door occupation in caring for the vegetable garden has put him on his feet again. Mooney is the older man, and Billings, though he confesses to thirty-five years, looks almost boyish, by reason of his smaller figure and his weather tanned face, and his smiling eyes. Both men are "good prisoners," the only annoyance they inflict upon the authorities being the work of that portion of the public which will not consent to forget them, and let the *respectable lawlessness* which keeps them in prison have its way. But this lawlessness has its place outside of prison, rather than in it, the prison authorities themselves having nothing to do with it except as it impinges upon them through the ceaseless conflict for their continued incarceration on the one hand, and for their freedom on the other hand. The recent prison riot at Represa makes the authorities there naturally more disinclined to publicity, and I had to assure them that I was not a newspaper man, which I am not, before I was allowed to talk with Billings.

There was nothing in our conversation, however, which they need have feared to have published, nor did Billings utter any word of complaint as to his treatment in the prison. It was mainly a review of his life which I asked of him, and this he gave in a simple unaffected way, with no show of any special interest in himself, and no touch of either bravado or feigned humility. A fellow of thirty-five talking about incidents of his experience, anywhere, in a quite casual way, this was Warren K. Billings in effect as he chatted with me that October morning. There was no posing, nor any manner of appeal for sympathy or appreciation, but just a natural openness as to both what he said and the way in which he said it.

I was practically chaplain of the Oregon Penitentiary many years ago while minister in Salem, Oregon. I spent three months as a prisoner myself in the city jail of Los Angeles during the war, so that I know something of the makeup and manner of prisoners, and neither Mooney nor Billings would be set down by

any one who knows prisoners as of the criminal mind. They no more impressed me that way than did the ministers of the Church Federation with whom I had dinner an hour or two after I came away from Represa, and to whom I spoke, with a reasonably responsive hearing, concerning the lawlessness of holding these two men in jail just because of their record as labor agitators and not for any proof which could satisfy an open minded man that they had anything whatever to do with the crime for which they have been jailed now for more than a decade of years.

No, Mooney and Billings are not criminals, but all the respectable people of California are, and all the respectable people of the nation, as long as they allow this respectable lawlessness to go on. And go on it will until respectable people are somehow awakened to their responsibility for this lawlessness. Judge Griffin, before whom Tom Mooney was tried, has not only come out in the most positive terms as to Mooney's innocence, and in repudiation of the proposal that Mooney and Billings petition for a parole instead of a pardon, but he has stated his conviction, which must be that of every man who fairly considers the matter, that to keep men in the penitentiary out of a general dislike for them and fear of them is a more serious breach of the foundations of civil government than anything charged against the men by those who disapprove them.

This is the issue which must be pressed if the men are to be released. The Governor is a politician, and will not act for their release, nor allow himself to be convinced of their innocence, until it is obviously to his political interest to let them out. This I say with no ill-will toward him, and with much more charity in my judgment of him than was expressed to me by men who fought hard for his election. His stock has gone down decidedly with the liberals of California since he came into office, and is falling at such a rate just now that he has no political future beyond this term of office if the present course of public opinion toward him proceeds. The reactionaries will not have him, and his best supporters have less and less use for him. Yet they admit generally that he "means well." But they are coming to a more dangerous mood toward him than that of active condemnation, a mood of pitying contempt, as toward a weak rather than an intentionally ill-minded man. It is not too late to save the Governor to himself, and from the fanatic minded patro-neurotics whom he fears too much. But this is not going to be done unless thousands of men and women of the truly liberal type show some mental alertness and moral courage and get at it to deliver California from the increasing burden of shame which this respectable lawlessness involves. Appeals to the Governor are not enough. Appeal must be made to the people as to whether America in general, and California in particular, really believes in law abidingness toward men who are not popular with the exploiting classes, and the politicians of the labor movement. If government by law is valid, as against government by mere power and prejudice, Mooney and Billings must be set free.

ROBERT WHITAKER.

The Study Table

At Last—A Complete Answer to Miss Mayo's "Mother India"

Besides the innumerable brief answers to Miss Mayo's book, which have appeared in the periodical press of India and elsewhere, we have four longer replies in book form, from distinguished Indian scholars and publicists, namely "Miss Mayo's Mother India: A Rejoinder," by Mr. K. Natarajan, Editor of *The Indian Social Reformer* (published in Madras); "Father India," by Mr. Ranga Iyer, Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly (published in London); "A Son of Mother India Answers," by Dhan Gopal Mukerji, a distinguished Indian author (published in New York); and last and most important, the book which is now before me for review.*

The three books first named are all interesting, carefully written, and in every way excellent; but they do not cover the *whole* ground; their somewhat limited space compelled them to treat too briefly, or wholly to omit, *some* of Miss Mayo's alleged "facts," sweeping generalizations, and other misrepresentations of the Indian people. Hence another book on a larger scale was needed. This we have in "Unhappy India," written by a former President of the Indian National Congress—a work so comprehensive, so complete, and so thorough, and so thoroughly documented that it seems to leave nothing further to be desired.

And Mr. Lajpat Rai was just the person to write it. No man knows India better. He is the author of half a dozen or more books of influence and weight; he has held some of the very highest public positions that his countrymen could bestow upon him; and hardly another man in India speaks upon social or political matters with as much authority. Furthermore, few Indians are so extensively known in England, in Continental Europe and in America as he, and few are held in so much respect and honor. Hence the importance of a book from his pen in counteracting and correcting the evil influence of Miss Mayo's "Mother India" in these countries.

Very briefly summarizing Mr. Rai's work, it may be said: He shows by the most clear and weighty evidence;

1. That not a little of Miss Mayo's boasted "documentation" is unreliable;

2. That many of her so-called facts are not facts at all;

3. That some of her facts given as true today are twenty-five or thirty years old, and although true formerly are not true now;

4. That Abbe Dubois, her most trusted authority, quoted by her more than any other, wrote a hundred years ago; and moreover, that his writings on the India of that time have been found by scholars to be distinctly less trustworthy than has often been claimed;

5. That in her reports of conversations and interviews with eminent Indians (Rabindranath Tagore,

*"Unhappy India," by Lajpat Rai. Published by the Banna Publishing Co., Calcutta.

Mahatma Gandhi and others) Miss Mayo frequently misquotes and misrepresents them;

6. That from one or two or a very few isolated facts she is accustomed all through her volume to make sweeping and utterly unwarranted generalizations—generalizations which often do great injustice to the Indian people.

7. That the book is misleadingly named. The title "Mother India" causes readers to expect to find in its pages a spirit of kindness, appreciation and sympathy toward India. Instead of that, they find everywhere haughty and cynical criticism. Since the book is so evidently written for the purpose of reporting to the world whatever of evil, ugliness and filth the author can find in the hospitals, prisons, police courts, houses of prostitution and slums of India, in order to be honest it should bear some such title as "A Western Woman's Slumming Tour Through India"; or (as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi) "A Report on India's Drains and Sewers." Then it would not deceive.

8. That Miss Mayo almost wholly ignores the real India, the India of history, the India of great art, great literature, great philosophers, great religions, great industries, great men in every department of life and achievement, the India which for three thousand years was one of the leading and illustrious nations of the world. She is so absorbed with looking at the little, the mean, the low, the filthy, that she either cannot or will not see the high, the fine, the noble, the great. The whole spirit of her volume is one of race antagonism, or arrogant assumption of the superiority of the white race over the brown and the yellow, of hate and distrust, of contempt and fear of Asia and of all Asiatics. This was clearly manifested in her earlier book on The Philippines—"The Isles of Fear." It is quite as marked in her "Mother India."

9. That almost every chapter of the book shows the author to be an extreme imperialist, a despiser of democracy, a believer that strong nations have a right to conquer, rule and exploit those that are not able to defend themselves by arms, and therefore that Britain has a right to hold India in bondage.

Mr. Rai shows (in his "Unhappy India") that all these things are true of Miss Mayo's volume; and therefore that, while many single facts are correctly given, her book taken as a whole is a cruel misrepresentation and slander of the Indian people.

The most conspicuous and outrageous slander uttered by Miss Mayo, the one that stings the Indian people most sharply and that they most resent, is her declaration—dwelt upon with fervor and seemingly with real relish, and reiterated in one form or another throughout half her chapters—that the basis of practically all India's miseries, sufferings, misfortunes and evils, is her excessive, abnormal and rotten sex-life.

Mr. Rai meets this slander in three ways:

1. By pointing out that Miss Mayo has no real ground whatever for her declarations. She offers no real proofs. She simply finds what she looks for. Her statements are based upon unverified hearsays, and on a few isolated, abnormal cases discovered in hospitals and police courts, magnified into a sweeping generalization covering all India.

2. By assertions, on the basis of his own large knowledge, and by testimonies from the most trustworthy authorities, that nothing of the kind is true.

3. By a terribly telling *tu quoque* argument or rejoinder. He asks Miss Mayo why she comes to India to seek out and blazon to the world sex-irregularities, sex-excesses, sex-crimes and sex-diseases, when if she will open her eyes, she can find quite as bad or worse in America and in every prominent nation in Europe. And he fortifies his statements by citing an overwhelming array of testimonies from the highest authorities both in America and Europe. If she feels that she has a mission to expose and reform sex-conditions anywhere, why does she not first undertake the job at home, in the West, where it appears to be most needed, before going to the East, where there seems reason to believe that the need is distinctly less?

The aim of Miss Mayo's whole book, from beginning to end, is to do two things, namely, first to paint the blackest possible picture of India's social and other evils (exaggerating at every point), and secondly, to convince her readers that these evils prove the inability of the Indian people to rule themselves and the necessity of the countenance of British rule. But Mr. Rai shows that her argument is a *non sequitur;* it proves the *very opposite* of what she claims. If even one-half or one-quarter of the shocking things which she affirms, are true, after the British, with all power in their hands, have ruled India for more than a century and a half, such a fact is the most *damning possible indictment of British rule.* Instead of showing that the British should govern India longer, it shows that their government has been an *utter failure,* and that there is no hope for India to get rid of her social and other evils except by *getting rid of her foreign, incompetent government,* and *securing a government of her own.*

Mr. Lajpat Rai's powerful and invaluable book ("Unhappy India") is published in India. Presumably copies may be ordered either direct or through any American book-store. But this is a rather tedious way of obtaining it. The book should be published both in New York and London; let us hope it will be. Then it would be more likely to go, as it ought, into all important libraries, and into the hands generally of the readers of Miss Mayo's "Mother India."

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Correspondence

From Good Friends

I

Editor of UNITY:

Enclosed please find money order to pay for UNITY for the coming year.

It grows better and better, and its political hits are alone worth the money.

Minneapolis, Minn. WILLIAM M. DELLES.

II

Editor of UNITY:

. . . I hope I can start your valuable paper again when I get home. I have enjoyed every word. You are doing very valuable work for the international world.

India. B. P. HIVALE.

Liberalism and Evangelism

Editor of UNITY:

Mr. Robert Whitaker, in UNITY of October 22, bewails the fact that there is no Liberal Evangelism in the rural communities, and attributes the condition to a lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Liberals themselves. I have some smatter-

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

WHY THEY STAND BY PROHIBITION

So many opponents of prohibition talk as if it received its support only from ministers and moral crusaders, that it is worth while to recall what some of the outstanding economists, business men, physicians and educators have had to say upon the subject.

Hear what is said by those who are in a position to speak with highest authority on the economic side:

"Prohibition has simply replaced a parasitic industry by constructive industries. Breweries and saloons have given place to something more valuable. Even on the Bowery, formerly one of the densest saloon districts in New York City, saloons have been replaced by restaurants, clothing establishments, groceries, candy shops, shoe stores, hardware stores, jewelry shops, banks, etc. The value of the land on these sites has not fallen, as was predicted, but in most cases has risen."—IRVING FISHER, *Professor of Political Economy, Yale University.*

"The great improvements in business which are shown by the Babson chart can be explained in large part as the result of the influence of prohibition. The salvage of our former waste of two billion dollars or more a year due to the liquor traffic must have been a real economic factor in the prosperity following the war. I know of no other way to account fully for the great impetus in home building, the tremendous number of new automobiles purchased, the larger volume of department-store sales, accompanied at the same time by a contined swelling of savings bank deposits." —ROGER W. BABSON, *Statistician.*

Now let a representative of business interests speak:

"Our men are very much better off since prohibition, as our records indicate that their attendance is more regular, their savings have increased, and property ownership has greatly advanced. I believe that industrial competition will force prohibition upon the whole world."
HENRY FORD.

As to the effect on labor, John G. Cooper, a leader in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and a member of Congress, says:

"Prohibition is making a capitalist of the worker, creating a general ownership of the means of production. . . . When the saloon closed, the 'poor man's club' may have vanished, but we are replacing it today with comfortable homes, fine labor temples and a chain of strong labor banks."

Next take the testimony of one of the outstanding American leaders in public health:

"Beverage alcohol used internally in an amount sufficient to give the subjective sensations which are sought by those who use it has physiological effects that interfere with physical and mental work.

"The national interference with the commercial liquor trade, through the prohibition enforcement act, has undoubtedly contributed to the great improvement in the public health that has occurred in the past ten years, partly by diverting the large sum previously spent by wage-earners into payments for better food, clothing and shelter for themselves and their families, and partly by reducing the process of mild or severe chronic or acute poisoning of the bodies of most of those who made it a regular part of their diet."—HAVEN EMERSON, M. D., *Professor of Public Health Administration in the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University.*

Now let educators speak out of their experience in the training of youth:

"I favor keeping the Prohibition Amendment as it now stands, with strict enforcement, my chief reason being that, in my judgment, no modification has been prepared which would not inevitably bring back the saloon with all the evils connected therewith."—ELMER ELLSWORTH BROWN, *Chancellor of New York University.*

"We hear a good deal of the modification of the Volstead Law, accompanied by the admission that the saloon has been a monstrous evil which must be checked. As a matter of fact, there is no way by which alcohol for drinking purposes can be made acceptable and accessible. There is no substitute for the saloon, short of its suppression."—DAVID STARR JORDAN, *Chancellor Emeritus, Leland Stanford, Jr., University.*

And finally, to those who have been led into thinking that Canada has "solved the problem," comes the following reply from a Canadian educator, Alfred Gandier, President of Knox College, Toronto:

"We have in Ontario what is perhaps the strictest government control measure that has ever been placed on the statute books of any country or province. The commission which controls the business for the government is headed by a man of ability, with experience in public life and of high character. There is a determined effort to suppress bootlegging and an honest attempt to enforce the law. We have government control at its best; and yet my judgment is, that, compared with the time of Provincial Prohibition, bootlegging has not decreased, while drinking and drunkenness have greatly increased. Statistics show the enormous increase in the amount of liquor imported and manufactured; and nothing speaks more eloquently of what is anticipated by 'the trade' than the fact that since the government control act was passed by our Provincial House, brewery and distillery stocks in general have advanced in value from 200 to 300 per cent."

—*Federal Council Bulletin.*

THE PERMANENT COMMISSION ON BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND JEWS IN AMERICA.

For the first time in history, protestant, Catholic and Jewish representatives are united in the Permanent Commission on Better Understanding Between Christians and Jews in America to safeguard each other's religions from ill-founded attacks which are calculated to engender ill-will and breed hate. The purpose and objective of this commission is solely opinion-making. It is free of politics. It does not initiate any new movements. It merely investigates and ascertains the truth of the calumnies levelled against any of the religious groups it represents, and speaks only after careful and unbiased investigation and deliberation. This commis-

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ing of the mental states of the inhabitants in the rural communities. Almost without exception the people living in the rural districts are saturated with the belief in a personal Devil, and a Hell is as necessary in their religious faith as is the belief in the infallibility of the Scriptures and the Deity of Jesus. From the well known frailty of human nature, it is easily proven that "Man is a fallen and depraved being," and nothing but the "Blood of Jesus can wash my sins away."

That is the psychology of the great mass of the people living away from the cities, whether the locality is east or west of the Mississippi River, and I know of the antagonism that is felt against any one that attempts to disturb that condition of mind. Occasionally there is found an individual that has broken away from the accustomed belief, and he has the distinction of being regarded as a "freak," an infidel, or perhaps an atheist.

The Liberal minister is incapable of competing with the Salvation Army captain, the Holy Rollers or the disciples of "The Four-square Gospel." The Liberals, whether minister or layman, have paid the price for their Freedom, paid for it in study, in sacrifice and often in tears and sorrow. It is still true that "Many are called but few are chosen," and the reason is obvious. In Prof. Dorsey's book I read (page 352): "The average mortal has only one habit. The one stimulus which arouses him from sleep, carries him through the day and back to bed and to sleep." It is my conviction that there can be no widespread conversion to the Liberal faith till Science has made the old beliefs ridiculous and obsolete. A more fundamental knowledge of the universe in which we live; a more intimate knowledge of the forces of Nature are necessary before the darkness can be dispelled. Some time the Unity of the Universe will be common knowledge and the Unity of the human race will be an acknowledged fact.

For the Liberal there is no problem of Evangelism. Education, Progress, Evolution, Growth in morals and intellect,—by these signs shall we conquer. At some distant day, Man will stand erect, unabashed and unafraid in the presence of the mighty forces, material and spiritual, which have fashioned him in the image of the Eternal.

Rockford, Ill. E. H. BARRETT.

sion was organized under the auspices of the American Hebrew Magazine on April 15th, 1927, when the Jewish Passover and the Christian Easter occurred on the same day.

The commission consists of nine men, three Protestants, three Catholics and three Jews:

Rev. Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

Martin Conboy, Esq., knight commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great.

Hon. Victor J. Dowling, presiding justice of the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court of New York.

Father Francis P. Duffy, president of the Rainbow Division Veterans' Association. Awarded D. S. C.

Dr. W. H. P. Faunce, president of Brown University, Providence, R. I., and chairman of the commission.

Hon. Irving Lehman, judge of the Court of Appeals of the State of New York.

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, former American ambassador to Turkey and chairman of the Greek Refugee Commission.

Dr. Roscoe Pound, dean of Harvard Law School and former president of Association of American Law Schools.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, rabbi of Free Synagogue of New York and president of the Jewish Institute of Religion.

Dr. Isaac Landman, editor of The American Hebrew and the new Popular Encyclopedia of the Jews, is secretary of the commission.

COMMITTEE TO AID THE CHINESE TRADE UNIONS

Dear Friends:

Eighteen Months Ago—3,000,000 workers organized under the banner of the All China Federation of Labor Unions; 10,000,000 peasants organized in agrarian unions under the leadership of the trade unions. Wages and hours regulated by the unions; women and child workers protected.

Now—under the rule of the Kuo Ming Tang in alliance with the international capitalist powers, "the rivers of China are dyed with the blood of the workers;" 25,000 killed protecting their union headquarters from occupation by troops; hundreds of thousands slaughtered in cold blood and tens of thousands more rotting in jails; unions suppressed and their leaders executed—all this to create a Chinese working class docile to the inhuman exploitation of the Chinese and international capitalists.

But the Chinese workers have not surrendered, nor lost courage. The unions lead strikes in spite of massacres, torture, and jailings. They must protect themselves against slavery.

And you must help them. It is also your fight. Do not p e r m i t the enslavement of the C h i n e s e workers. Your brothers and sisters appeal to you and they rely on your fraternal aid. Demand the withdrawal of all the American forces from China. Help with your donation. Read the appeal. Circulate it. Give till it hurts. Make checks payable to the committee.

Every penny will be acknowledged officially by the All China Federation of Labor Unions, Sou Chao Jeng, Chairman.

Fraternally yours,
ROBERT W. DUNN, Secretary.
Committee to Aid the Chinese Trade Unions, Room 314, 96 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

A Hymn

Where is our Holy Church?
Where race and class unite
As friendly brothers in the search,
For beauty, truth, and right.

Where is our Holy Writ?
Where'er a human heart
The sacred torch of truth has lit
With inspiration's art.

Where is our Holy Man?
A mighty host respond;
For good men rise in every land
To bear the leader's wand.

Where is our Holy Land?
Within the human soul,
Wherever strong men truly seek
With character their goal.

Where is our Paradise?
In aspiration's sight,
Wherein we hope to see arise,
Ten thousand years of light.

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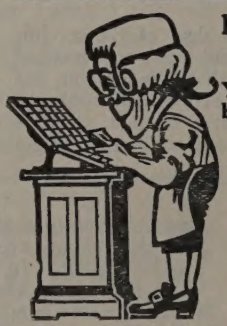

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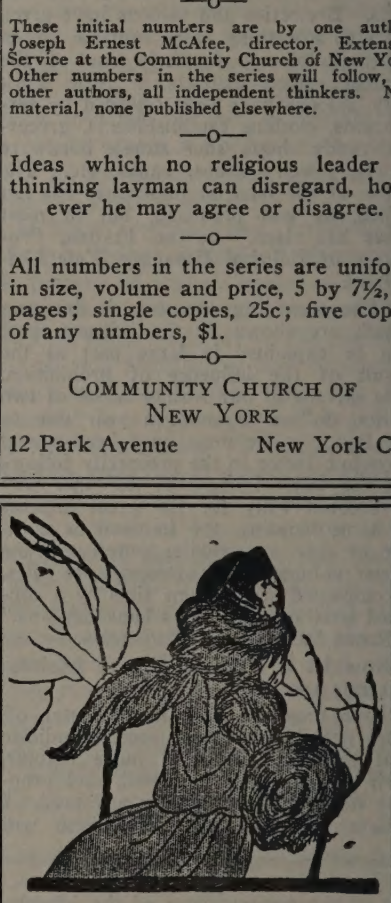

NOVEMBER

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